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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the following points: (1) how Japanese personal pronouns are used according to the speakers' social constraints, and (2) differences between males and females of the same occupational group in their use of personal pronouns. The dialect analyzed is the speech of Japanese faculty members at the University of Hawaii. A speaker of Japanese must evaluate his addresses in terms of a vertical axis of power and a horizontal axis of solidarity and their respective positions before selecting the proper first and second person pronouns. Pronouns may change during a conversation as relationships are discerned. Analysis of the professors' speech revealed that men frequently use a very informal and intimate first person pronoun with friends or family; women use more polite and less intimate pronouns with their parents than men do. Both men and women used kinship terms ("mommy," "daddy") instead of personal pronouns with their children. In use of second person pronouns, all males used different pronouns depending on their addressee, while 60 percent of women varied their use and 40 percent did not. Kinship terms are often used with siblings and parents, and women use a more formal pronoun ending with family and friends. (CHK)

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Japanese Terms of Address: some usages of[1] the first and second person pronouns

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This paper has two points to examine: (1) How personal pronouns in Japanese are used according to the addresser - addressee's social constraints, and (2) how much difference there is between male and female speakers in the same occupational group in their respective usage of personal pronouns. Terms of address are, of course, not limited to personal pronouns but include such words as proper names, titles and kinship terms as treated by Y.R.Chao (1956) in Chinese.[2] However, in this paper focus is placed on the first and second person pronouns and other categories are mentioned in passing only when they are directly relevant or brought into the discussion of personal pronouns.

Personal pronouns, as well as other terms of address, must also be discussed separately according to dialectal divisions because semantic representations of these words are often quite different from one dialect to another. The dialect analyzed in this paper is a composite of the speech of Japanese faculty members of the East Asian Languages Department at the University of Hawaii. Therefore, I assume that some classroom constraints on their usage of personal pronouns are in effect. The total number of subjects is twenty; ten men instructors (9 married and 1 unmarried) and ten women instructors (6 married and 4 unmarried). The age range is from 26 to 45.

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING PRONOUNS

Each speaker of Japanese, before initiating a conversation with his addressee, has to face the task of evaluating the person with whom he is to talk. His evaluation is basically processed on two axes as illustrated by Martin (1964) in Japanese, and Brown $ Gilman (1968) in European languages. In the analysis of personal pronouns the axes of POWER and SOLIDARITY by Brown $ Gilman are preferred while an analysis of Honorifics[3] is considered better explained in terms of REFERENCE and ADDRESS. Although personal pronouns are closely interlocked with the predicate of a sentence, or utterance, it is possible to focus on personal pronouns in isolation without the use of their predicates. The speaker often uses vocative personal pronouns independently in such cases as when he calls the attention of an addressee (e.g. anata! 'you!', or kimi! 'you!'). In case of honorific expressions in most cases emphasis must be placed on the predication of a sentence, or utterance.

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The 'axis of POWER of social factors' includes such elements as social status, profit provider - receiver, age, sex, and education while the 'axis of SOLIDARITY'(or DEGREE of intimacy) includes such factors as ingroupness - outgroupness, and class of occupation. In our social life the axis of POWER may be drawn vertically while the axis of SOLIDARITY honrizontally. The two semantics must simultaneously be brought into the speaker's decision making process. He judges on the axis of POWER if the addressee is placed in a position higher or lower, or stronger or weaker, than he is. The speaker simultaneously evaluates the addressee on the other axis of SOLIDARITY to determine if the addressee is a member of his group, or class. He may be a member of his family, a school alumnus, fellow worker, or colleague.

When the speaker is uncertain of the POWER interpretation of his addressee, he normally relies, to be on the safe side, solely on the axis of SOLIDARITY, which is always much clearer than the other axis. For instance, an educated speaker often uses wata(ku)shi 'I' when he talks with a total stranger so that he can keep some distance from the addressee. However, if the speaker, after talking to a stranger for a while, finds out the addressee's position on the axis of POWER, he feels free to change his expression accordingly. For example, it was commonly observed in the pre-war period, and even in the post-war period to a certain degree, that the male speaker first used anata 'you' to a stranger and switched to kimi 'you' a few minutes later if he found out that the addressee was younger in age and junior to him from the same school he attended. In such a conversation the speaker often changes from watashi to boku to ore 'I' and from anata to anta to kimi 'you'. These six variants may be used by the same speaker.

Another extreme example in which these two axes (applicable semantics) are ignored may occur when a speaker is absolutely independent of outer factors imposed upon by his addressees, or all others in the speech community. Many taxi drivers in Tokyo may fall into this category. Prospective passengers are virtually in a begging relationship, and the taxi driver often chooses passengers according to their destinations. Vehicular traffic in Tokyo is so heavy that many drivers refuse to take passengers to congested areas. The speech register used by the taxi drivers is often so blunt that the passenger feels uncomfortable. Some drivers do not even verbally acknowledge a passenger's instructions about where he wants to go. Some drivers nod and some do not; they either speed away with the passenger, or simply ignore the solicitation of the would-be passenger.[4] To the driver any one of his passengers is equal, regardless of his (the passenger's) social status, etc. on the axis of POWER. If the driver is independent of the POWER semantic, he automatically ignores the axis of SOLIDARITY. An alternate interpretation may be that the driver's conduct (and attendant speech pattern) is that he thinks he can be placed in the highest position on the axis of POWER, and he feels that he need not be polite to anyone in his speech.

Another interesting example in terms of the POWER semantic is that in the Japanese Diet a questioner from a minority party uses less polite expressions than his respondent from the government, or majority, party. This phenomenon seems to be a typical pattern between the minority and majority party relationship. I am interested in a further analysis of this in a separate treatment in the future. Similar to this phenomenon is that the students of Zengakuren 'All Japan Students Federation' when negotiating, or kangaroo courting a professor, or dean of their university often address their school authority beginning with sensei 'professor' and ending with temee 'damned you' with the intermediate pronouns ranging from anata, anta, omae, to kisama. However, the professor normally stays with such polite terms of address as anata-gata, kimi-tachi 'you (pl.)', and kimi 'you'.[5]

STYLE DIFFERENCES

In addition to the speaker's evaluation of the addressee for selecting adequate personal pronouns (or terms of address), style differences, for example between male and female speakers, or further speech subdivisions as between college students and professors, or between sales clerks and customers, are also determinants of pronoun selection. In this paper differences in style are compared only between male and female speakers in the same occupational group — college teachers of Japanese in America.

Each speech style has its own set of criteria for classifying personal pronouns in terms of levels of politeness and degrees of intimacy. For example, in the Women's Style the pronoun anata 'you' is considered to be an indication of the speaker's intimacy with the addressee while it is rather considered to be representing the speaker's formality, or his distance away from the addressee in the Men's Style. In this analysis I have found that the men subjects do not use anata at all when they talk to their close male friends while 50% of the women subjects use the term. Of course, both men and women subjects prefer personal names to any personal pronouns when they express their closeness, or solidarity, to another person.

Another factor which necessitates the separation of styles is that some pronouns used in one style are not used in another. Such pronouns as boku, ore 'I', kimi, kisama and temee 'you' used in the Men's style are not in existence in the Women's style.

Dialectal differences also involve separate sets of criteria, which will make an overall analysis of all pronouns used by speakers from various dialectal backgrounds invalid. For example, a Tokyo speaker instantly reacts to the pronoun ora as a non-Tokyo dialectal variant while it is used in certain areas as reported by Shibata [6] as a polite variant of ore 'I'. In this analysis subjects are from various dialectal backgrounds but all are in the same occupation class, and they are involved in teaching the common dialect (or

kyootsuugo) of Japanese. Therefore, it is the writer's hope that this analysis is evaluated in that respect.

ACTUAL USAGE OF PRONOUNS

How the first and second person pronouns, and some kinship terms as their replacement, are used are discussed here. These are divided into two categories: (1) the first person pronouns, and (2) the second person pronouns, which are used by the speaker to the addressee.

1. the first person pronouns

All twenty subjects, both men and women speakers, use different first person pronouns depending upon their addressee. However, men speakers use five variants while women speakers use three variants. The pronouns used by men are boku (100%), ore (90%), watashi (80%), watakushi (50%), and atashi (10%). The pronouns used by women speakers are watakushi (80%), watashi (50%), and atashi (60%).

It was a little surprising to the writer that ninety per cent of men speakers use ore. The pronoun ore 'I' is often used among male adult speakers only in such very informal occasions as between two close friends and at home. It is not exaggerated to say that in many elementary schools the use of this pronoun ore is discouraged by the teacher. At least I have had that experience during my elementary school education. Also many parents prohibit their children from using this pronoun. Therefore, the high percentage use of this pronoun ore by the male speakers in this analysis is a surprising discovery. It shows its longevity. On the other hand, inspite of the discouragement at school and at home, among children, normally in the upper grades (4th, 5th, and 6th grades) and students often prefer ore to boku in order to show their "manliness". The other pronoun boku, they often consider, sounds a little too polite and therefore "weak". However, the same speaker who used ore as a child often discontinues the use of this pronoun as an adult. The writer is also one of them. This pronoun is almost never introduced in texts for an elementary, or an intermediate, Japanese course for English speaking students.

In terms of the degrees of politeness these pronouns may be arranged from higher to lower as watakushi - watashi - boku -ore by men in contrast with watakushi - watashi - atashi by women. When they address a total stranger, they call themselves watakushi (50%), watashi (30%) and boku (20%) in case of men, and watakushi (60%), watashi (40%) and atashi (10%) by women. It is interesting to note these pronouns are somewhat reversed when they talk with their parents in which case the men subjects (9 subjects are applicable) use boku

(89%), watashi (11%), and ore (33%) while the counterpart use atashi (50%), watashi (30%) and watakushi (20%). The result shows that women seem to be more polite to, or keep a distance from, their parents than is typical of men. Another finding is that the differences in the men's speech between the pronouns used during their childhood and those of today when talking to their parents are slight: They called themselves boku (90%) and ore (20%) in their childhood. In contrast, women speakers used atashi (60%), uchi [7] (10%), personal name (10%) and nick name (20%) to call themselves when talking to their parents.

The survey also shows that men use ore more frequently when talking with their wives than when talking with their parents: 44% versus 33%. This frequency of ore is also noticed in the men's speech with their younger siblings — 63%. When they talk with their older siblings, they use this pronoun ore 33% of the total which is the same as with their parents. This contrast is also apparent in the men's use of ore when talking to younger and older playmates when they were children — 50% versus 30%. It may be summarized that the frequency of the men's use of ore is highest with younger siblings, wives, older siblings, and parents in that order.

The most varied self-designating terms used are recorded when the men are talking to their children. (6 subjects are applicable, and four are disqualified because they are either unmarried or do not have any children.) They use six variants as otoosan (50%), papa (50%), daa-chan[8](17%), daddy (17%) toosan (17%), and ore (17%). Of the six terms only ore is a personal pronoun and all others are kinship terms meaning 'father'. The women subjects, on the other hand, use four kinship terms meaning 'mother', okaasan (33%), okaasama (17%), mama (17%) and maa [9](17%). It seems both men and women use mostly kinship terms in their speech with their children. Each individual speaker's selection of a term may depend upon such factors as his/her child's age, social environment, and linguistic experience. However, the fact that parents use kinship terms to call themselves when talking to their children, sons and daughters, completely regardless of their ages, is quite common. Actually, the using of a kinship term by a parent is more common than for a parent to use his/her personal pronoun. Therefore, this phenomenon is different from American usage where a parent might use such kinship terms as "daddy" and "mommy" when talking to a little child but they discontinue to use the terms as the child grows older. It is uncommon that an American parent uses either "father" or "mother" when talking to his/her adult son, or daughter.

As expected, it is confirmed in this analysis that in both men and women's speech styles from older to younger siblings, as well as from parents to their children, they use many kinship terms. (e.g. otoosan 'father', okaasan 'mother', and oneesan 'older sister'). On the other hand, younger children call themselves with their personal names when talking to their older playmates, siblings, and parents.

The age limit of "children" in the questionnaire used for this analysis was not specified, but it seems that all subjects interpreted it to mean to the end of elementary school education. (Two subjects had asked me about the age limit before they filled out the questionnaire.) None of the women speakers responded that they used such formal pronouns as watakushi or watashi when they were children. It varies among children depending upon their education backgrounds, either at home or school, but I subjectively presume that the pronoun watakushi begins to appear in the feminine speech in the 7th grade or so, or junior high school, while in the masculine speech its appearance is uncommon until his college education begins. From personal evaluation of experience I am of the opinion that watashi, which is one step lower than that of watakushi in the degree of politeness, may appear in the senior high school education, or the 10th grade or above, in the masculine speech.

Finally, what would both men and women call themselves when they are involved in a quarrel and are angry with a stranger? Men's reactions to this question are ore (60%), watashi (20%), watakushi (20%) and boku (20%) while women use watakushi (50%), watashi (40%) and atashi (10%). The men subjects show their anger by using the informal pronoun ore (60%) while the women subjects, as educated ladies, seem to hesitate to show their feelings in speech forms. This analysis also indicates that the women do not change the pronouns from those used when they talk with a stranger in a normal situation.

2. the second person pronouns

All male subjects use different second person pronouns depending upon their addressee while the female subjects split their opinions into 60% who varied their use of these pronouns and 40% who did not. These women speakers substitute pronouns for personal names and titles according to the degree of politeness required in their conversation. As observed in the use of the first person pronouns, men use more variants of the second person pronouns than women do. The pronouns used by men are anata (80%), kimi (70%), omae (50%), anta (20%), kisama (20%), omae-san (20%), and temee (10%). The pronouns used by women are anata (100%), sochira (30%), otaku (20%), and anta (10%).

Another finding is that both men and women alike use mostly kinship terms when they talk to their older siblings and parents while they are called by these senior family members by their personal names. The kinship terms used by men and women subjects are almost identical except women use more formal ending -sama than men do. Some personal pronouns recorded are omae (20%) and kimi (10%) by men and anata (10%) by women subjects when they talk to their younger siblings.

A difference between men and women speakers is also apparent in their use of the second person pronouns when they talk with their close friends: Men use kimi (40%) and omae (20%) while talking to

their male friends while women use anata (50%) talking to their female friends. It is interesting to note that none of the men speakers use anata when talking to their male friends but they do use this pronoun (40%) when they talk to their female friends. The women subjects, on the other hand, use anata (20%) to their male friends. All other terms used are personal names with either the respectful suffix -san or the familiar suffix -kun or -chan.

It is worth noting that men use anata (80%) more than women use it (50%) when they talk with a stranger. Other pronouns used by women subjects are otaku-sama (10%) and sochira (10%). A similar phenomenon is noticed when men or women are involved in a quarrel and are angry with a stranger. Men in this case use anata (60%), omae (20%), kisama (20%), temee (10%) and kimi (10%) while women use anata (40%), sochira (20%) and anta (10%).

The conversation between husband and wife is also compared in this analysis: Husbands call their wives omae (33%), kimi (11%), anata (11%) but most frequently with personal names (77%) and mama (22%). Wives in turn call their husbands anata (50%) and their names with either the respectful suffix -san (11%), or with the familiar suffix -chan (11%).

A dictionary normally defines anata 'you' as a respectful term of address when the speaker talks to either his superior or peer. A textbook for teaching Japanese to foreign students normally lists this second person pronoun simply as 'you'. With these descriptions a foreign student having learned to speak some Japanese uses this term of address to anyone at any place. In reality among native speakers of Japanese as we have shown, the use of this word is not so simple. This pronoun is no longer used by the speaker to express his honorific feeling to the addressee. During the spring semester 1972 I had an opportunity to observe this phenomenon in a very interesting way: An instructor of Japanese, who was here from Japan for the school year 1971-72 and almost monolingual, lost his temper when he was addressed by his student as "anata". The innocent student had only this pronoun in his vocabulary, and he asked the instructor, "anata no denwa bangoo o oshiete kudasai,"("Please let me have your telephone number.")

Absolutely all of them, both men and women subjects, feel that it is inappropriate for a college student to use anata when he addresses his professor. They recommend the use of the term sensei 'professor; teacher' in place of the pronoun. The use of anata by a woman college instructor when addressing her female colleague of about the same age was somewhat supported by men (70%) and women (60%). However, men and women alike do not support the use of anata by either a man instructor to his senior man colleague (100% by men and 90% by women subjects), or a woman instructor to her senior woman colleague (90% respectively by men and women subjects).

It may be interesting to note the difference between the women's subjective judgment on and the men's actual use of the pronoun kimi

'you' when a man instructor addresses his male colleague of about the same age: The men subjects use this pronoun 40% while 70% of the women subjects consider such usage adequate.

SUMMARY

As expected this analysis has shown the fact that men speakers use more variants of personal pronouns than women speakers do, especially in informal situations. On the other hand, there is no significant difference between the sexes in their use of formal, or polite pronouns. Also noted and confirmed is the fact that men use, or are able to use, all pronouns used by women, although the frequency rate of each of these pronouns differs between men and women.

This analysis revealed the importance of confronting the subjects with social situations (in which pronouns are used) that are as varied as possible. I admit that the situations examined in this analysis were not sufficient for obtaining a complete analysis. I am certain that if more situations were examined, more pronouns and variety in usage would be discovered. For example, a son, who normally calls himself ore when talking to his father, will very likely use such terms as watakushi, watashi, and boku to his father if someone else, who either holds a socially higher position than his father, or who is not intimate, is present. Another example is that a teacher, who normally addresses his colleague of the same age as kimi 'you', will very likely use a term such as sensei, or a personal name + -san to address the same person in the presence of a student.

However, this problem — how varying situations affect the normal use of pronouns, or terms of address — in itself is worth a separate treatment, and it is not the writer's intention in this brief analysis to cover such situations. Passin (1966:103) mentions this fact: "the 'presence of others' may bring radical alternations in usage." However, he cites the general presumptive examples only in terms of "private" and "public" speech patterns of the husband and the wife. It is interesting to note that he mentions that some Japanese men use "rough" expressions to their wives in order to show outsiders that they are not "soft" at home. It may be worthwhile to examine one particular individual's usage of personal pronouns in depth according to various "presence of others" which include people and factors.

History seems to show that the more a society becomes democratic, the fewer personal pronouns, or varieties of language expressions, the people in that speech community will use. Wittermans (1967) mentions the varieties of terms of address used during the pre-independence period in Indonesia. The history of Japan also proves this statement valid when we consider that there were approximately 110 personal pronouns used during the Edo period (1603-1867) in contrast with approximately 59 of today used in the Tokyo dialect.[11] If a society is divided into such rigid social classes as samurai, farmers workers, and merchants, separate speech styles will develop.

However, one thing which should be pointed out here is that a comparison between the pronouns used during the Edo period and those of today should not be made merely in terms of the number of pronouns used. Generally speaking, the usage of pronouns is much more complicated today than during the Edo period. During the Edo period the speaker was restricted to a certain set of pronouns according to his social class (samurai, farmers, workers and merchants). Today the pronoun system is more homogeneous. But with this system there are more choices for the speaker to make. His choices are dictated by his relationship to the addressee and by the occasion in terms of the two axes of POWER and SOLIDARITY.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Professor Evangelos A. Afendras of the University of Hawaii who sparked my earliest interest in the area of sociolinguistics, and who has kindly read and commented upon an earlier version of this paper.

2. Yuen Ren Chao (1956) classifies terms of address into (1) vocatives, or terms of direct address to call persons by, and (2) designatives, or mentioning terms, which one uses as part of connected discourse in speaking of persons.

3. I have analyzed the Relative Honorifics (sootai keigo) of Japanese based on the two axes of LEVELS and STYLES, which are slight modifications of Samuel E. Martin's axes of REFERENCE and ADDRESS. I have discussed these in my paper (1970a).

4. According to the survey I conducted in Tokyo during the months of July and August 1969, the Japanese subjects examined felt many taxi drivers in Tokyo, among nine occupations, were most impolite in speech. I have discussed this in my paper (1970b).

5. Yutaka Miyaji (1971:374-5) briefly discusses some changes in terms of address according to various occasions.

6. At the Round Table Seminar sponsored by the Department of East Asian Languages, University of Hawaii, held on May 19, 1972, Professor Takeshi Shibata, a visiting professor from Tokyo University, lectured on "Japanese Ego Terms in Social Relations" based on his survey conducted in October 1971 at Machino-machi, Wajima-shi, Ishikawa-ken, Japan.

7. This woman subject, who used the pronoun uchi, is not a speaker from Tokyo. She used this pronoun only during her childhood.

8. The word daa-chan seems to be the combination of daa- (which is from English daddy) and the familiar suffix -chan in Japanese. A word coining of this sort is often made by those people who have been exposed to foreign cultures and environments.

9. This woman speaker's son has acquired this term maa from his Chinese baby sitter. In Chinese it is probably mā 'mother'.

10. I have used for this definition one of the most widely used dictionaries among the Japanese — koojien (1967:48).

11. The number of personal pronouns used during the Edo period is based on Tsujimura-Sakurai's List of Honorific Changes (Keigo Hensen Ichiranhyoo) in Tsujimura (1968). They list a total of 110 personal pronouns which include 34 first person pronouns, 57 second person pronouns, 12 third person pronouns, and 7 indefinite person pronouns. The number of personal pronouns used today in the Tokyo dialect is based upon the writer's subjective judgment. The 59 Tokyo pronouns include 14 first person pronouns, 13 second person pronouns, 17 third person pronouns, and 5 indefinite person pronouns. I have discussed these in my paper (1971).

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